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FALLEN ANGELS IN JEWISH, CHRISTIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN LITERATURE

A Study in Comparative Folk-lore

By Leo Jung, New York

Chapter 6

ASHMEDAI

(A) Ashmedai and Aeshma

Ashmedai may be Aeshma etymologically; he is by no means Aeshma as far as his character or his functions are concerned.

As Grünbaum rightly remarks, Kohut's efforts to identify the natures of these two spirits must fail. Carried away by his etymological evidence, Kohut appears to overlook all passages which clearly demonstrate his theory to be untenable; his usual acumen also fails him in the interpretation of the passages he does cite.

"Aeshma is the main helper of Angromainyus."

"He commands an army of demons."

"Aeshma helps Angromainyus against Ahura Mazda."

"Aeshma is the ancestor of all Daevas which Angromainyus has brought forth to destroy all purity in the world."

"Aeshma is the personification of physical dissolution."

"All knowledge and science comes from Aeshma."

"He is one of the demons aiming at the overthrow of the moral order of the world."

All these citations are from Kohut. I shall now present

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the features of Ashmedai in rabbinic literature; to make clear the differences between him and Aeshma.

Talmud B. Pesaḥim 110a: "Ashmedai is the king of all Shedim and as king is not a harmful spirit".

Giṭṭin 68a: "Ashmedai allows himself to be carried away as soon as he hears that "The Name of thy Lord is upon thee". "He goes out of his way to spare the widow's hut." "He saves a wicked drunkard to cause him to enjoy his life." "He weeps at the early death of the merrymaking bridegroom, and at the hope deferred of his widow to be." "He is as sensual as a he-goat, whose feet he has." "He has come by the command of God to take Solomon's throne in order to punish his disobedience and offending self-reliance." Note also MS. Munich and the fact that according to other versions an angel, not Ashmedai, came down to punish Solomon.

Evidently Ashmedai has nothing but the name in common with the Parsee demon.[128]

In the first part of the Talmudical story he is a jolly, good-natured spirit, fond of drink, in the second part the predominant feature is the punishment of Solomon. So that quite apart from the divergence in details, the two principal differences become emphatic: (1) Aeshma is essentially malevolent, the enemy of man, who is the creature of Ahura Mazda. Ashmedai is a good-natured being; he is the servant of God, and though loose in his morals he is absolutely obedient to Him (see below). (2) Aeshma endeavors to destroy man by the command and in pursuit of the aim of Angromainyus. Ashmedai comes to punish Solomon by the command of God. He is prince of the Sheddim, *not* a harmful spirit.

I am adding a complete translation of the passage in

[128] But see Whitehouse in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, who contends that not even the name is connected with Aeshma, but with שמר = השמיד.

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Gitṭin 68a, so that my claims may be judged from the text itself.

(B) The Ashmedai Text in Babli Gittin 68a

Ecclesiastes 2.8: "I provided me male and female musicians[129] and the luxuries of the sons of men."

These two words we translate here (in Babylonia) by 'demons and demonesses'; in the west (in Palestine) they say it means 'a chair' (or a 'chest') (a chariot or sedan chair for the use of women and princes, Rashi). Rabbi Joḥanan said: 'There were three hundred demons (or chests, see Jastrow *s. v.*) at Sihin, but what "shida" in itself means, I do not know'. (It appears more likely that R. Joḥanan hesitated to express an opinion on Shedim, except to say that he did not know what the nature of a box is. He is evidently referring to some popular story according to which three hundred spirits are haunting the "unfortunate" city. And being asked what he thought about it, he quieted or dismissed the questioner in the bove manner).[130]

[129] The main interpretations of these ambiguous words are (1) LXX *οἰνοχόον καὶ οἰνοχόας*, male and female cup-bearers; this may be strengthened by referring to שדא, Syr., שדא which in the Talmud often means "to pour"; it has a similar though not the identical meaning in Syriac; see Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus* 4063. Aquila's *κυλίκιον* may perhaps be due to a different application of the same idea. It is evident that the Targum: "tubes which pour forth tepid and hot water respectively" מרובין דשדין takes שדא to be the root. Barton's "*cold* water" is a mistake.

(2) Root Ar. شدد שדד denoting intensity, strength, thus "multitude of all things", "a heap and heaps".

(3) سدّ to hide—thus "woman of the harem".

(4) سند to lean upon—thus "bed" and "concubine".

(5) The Talmud derives it from Ass. sidu "bull deity"; in Arabic سيّد "Lord". The Palestinian "chair" may be due to سند. It means "chest" however also in Babylonia. Ket. 65a acc. to Jastrow *s. v.*, also in Gitṭin, *l. c.*

(6) שד breast—"female".

[130] According to Rashi: Some say that "Sheda" is the head of all of them, but I know nothing as to her nature or figure. The ordinary interpretation "what a Sheda is" seems preferable, esp. since a few lines below it is said that Ashmedai is the head (King) of the Shedim. But "Queen Lilith", an evil spirit, appears in Targum to Job 1.15, and those who take "Sheda" to be the queen may well have thought of her.

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"It has been said: Here we translate by 'male and female demons'. What did Solomon need[131] them for? In I Kings 6.7 it is said: 'And the house when it was in building, was built of stone made ready at the quarry; and there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building'. Solomon asked the Rabbis, 'How can I do it (break the stones for the temple without iron tools)?'[132] They told him: 'There is a stone for the purpose called "Shamir" which Moses brought for the stones of the Ephod'. 'Where is it to be found?' Solomon asked. They answered: "Cause demons and demonesses to come to thee, retain (or 'force', 'subdue') them together, it is possible that they know it and they may reveal it to you'.[133] He brought demons and demonesses, and forced them (to obey him) together: but they said, 'We do not know it. Perhaps Ashmedai, the king of the demons, knows it.' Solomon: 'Where is he?' The demons: 'He is on that and that mountain, has dug there a pit, filled it with water, covered it with a rock and sealed it with his ring. And every morning he ascends to heaven, learns the topics of the heavens, descends to the ground (earth) and learns the topics of the earth, he comes (down), inspects the seal, opens the pit, drinks the water, covers and seals the pit and goes off.' Solomon sent Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, and gave him a chain on which the Name of God was engraved and a ring upon which the Name of God was engraved, bundles of wool and bottles of wine (filled with wine). He went and dug from below the pit, caused the water to come out slowly, and closed the hole with the bundles of wool. Then

[131] Lit: "him", the teller of the story thinks of Ashmedai, the main hero.

[132] Cp. Mishna Middot III, 4, Sotah 48b. "Iron was made to shorten the life of man; the altar was made to prolong the life of man, and it is not meet that that which shortens the life of man be lifted up above what prolongs it."

[133] It is an essential point for all comparisons between "shedim" and demons, that the former are not always malevolent, cp. Shabbat 67a. The demons help Solomon to build the temple. Gittin 69b.

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he dug a pit above the pit of Ashmedai, pouring the wine into it. He came (ascended) and sat on a tree. When Ashmedai came he examined the seal, broke it and found the wine. He said (to himself): 'Wine is a mocker, mead is a brawler; whoever is overtaken thereby, is not wise' (Prov. 20.1), and (he also meditated on how) 'Harlotry, wine and new wine take away the brain" (Hosea 4.2), and (as the result of this reflection) he did not drink it, at first. When he became thirsty, he could not withstand the temptation, he drank, became intoxicated and fell down (asleep). Benaiah descended from the tree and threw upon him the chain which he sealed (closed) with the ring. Ashmedai, on awaking, made efforts to get free, but Benaiah told him: 'The Name of thy Lord is upon thee, the Name of thy Lord is upon thee'. (Whereupon he allowed himself to be led away). He took hold of him and went. As Ashmedai came to a tree[134] he scratched himself against it and uprooted it, coming towards a house he overthrew it, when he reached the hut of a widow she came forth and asked him to be gracious (made supplication to him). He bent his body away from the house (so suddenly or violently that) a bone in him was broken, whereupon he said, 'This is the meaning of "Gentle words break the bone" '. He saw a blind man who strayed from his way and he brought him back to his way. He saw also a drunkard who strayed from his way and he brought him back to it. He saw a happy wedding party where people enjoyed themselves and he wept. He heard a man saying to a bootmaker, 'Make me shoes for seven

[134] Gruenbaum is at variance with Kohut as to what causes Ashmedai to uproot the tree. Kohut, with Aeshma constantly before his eyes, considers it due to Ashmedai's demoniacal passion for destruction. Gruenbaum thinks that Ashmedai's enormous bulk caused it. This view is the more plausible one, as there is no trace in the whole account of the demon's ill-will towards man or other creatures, as we have a direct statement (in the case of the widow) of his twisting his body so as to save the widow's home from being overthrown. This gives sense only if we assume Ashmedai to be very broad and tall. Also the statement that when freed from the chain, he rested ne wing on earth, the other extending to heaven, intimates something of this sort

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years', and he laughed. He saw a sorcerer practising witchcraft, and he laughed.[135] When he arrived at the palace, he was not brought before the King until the third day. On the first day he asked the attendants: 'Why does not the King desire to have me with him?' They answered: 'He is overcome by drink'. He took a brick and placed it upon a second brick. They went and told it to Solomon, who explained its meaning to be, 'Go and give him more drink'.[136] Next day he asked again, 'Why does not the King desire to have me with him?' They answered, 'His food presses him (he has eaten more than was good, suffers from indigestion)'. Thereupon Ashmedai took the one brick from the other and laid it upon the ground. They went to tell Solomon of it. He interpreted it to indicate: 'Take off from his food (give him less to eat).' At the end of three days he entered Solomon's presence. Ashmedai took a reed, measured up four cubits, threw it before the King and said: 'When this man (Solomon) will be dead, he will command in this world no more than four cubits, now thou hast subjected the whole world and yet thou wert not satisfied until thou hast subjected me too'. He answered: 'I require from thee nought but the stone Shamir which I need for the building of the Sanctuary'. Ashmedai: 'That stone was not given to me; it was given over to the Prince of the Sea; and the latter has surrendered it (given it in charge) to the woodcock to whose oath he trusts'.[137] Solomon: 'What is he doing with it?' Ashmedai: 'He

[135] Therein again no one who was unprejudiced could find a "devilish laughter"; as Grünbaum rightly says, anyone would have laughed at the sorcerer working miracles while unconscious of the treasure beneath his feet.

[136] There is nothing but kind solicitude in this action. He is concerned about Solomon and offers his medical advice.

[137] "Who is trustworthy to him" (the cock to the prince of the sea)—(1) who trusts in the cock not to violate the oath he has made to keep it well, or: (2) who is faithful to the Prince as to the oath.

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takes it to the mountain which knows no habitation, puts it on the peak of the mountain, etc. etc.'

Benaiah asked Ashmedai: 'Why didst thou bring the blind man back to his way on seeing that he strayed from it?' Ashmedai replied: "In heaven it was proclaimed concerning him that he was a perfectly righteous man, and whosoever did him a kindness would partake of eternal salvation (lit.: would have a merit in or for the world to come).' Benaiah: 'And why didst thou restore the drunkard to the right way on seeing that he strayed from it?' Ashmedai: 'It was proclaimed concerning him in heaven that he was a perfect villain, and I did him a kindness[138] in order that he might eat his deserved punishment in the world to come[139].' 'Why didst thou weep on seeing the merry wedding?' 'The husband was (is) to die in three days and the wife will have to wait thirteen years for the levirate of his young brother".

Benaiah: 'Why didst thou laugh on hearing a man ordering from his boot-maker shoes for seven years?'

Ashmedai: 'This man had not seven days to live, and he ordered shoes for seven years'.

Benaiah: 'Why didst thou laugh on seeing the sorcerer perform witchcraft?'

Ashmedai: 'The sorcerer was sitting upon a royal

[138] Did something to calm, benefit him.

[139] Grünbaum translates: "damit er noch länger auf der Welt bleibe", taking it in the sense of "finishing his world", "his course of life". See infra. The expression is somewhat ambiguous and to understand it fully we must refer to the theory according to which the perfectly wicked man, who has some small merit, is allowed to reap the benefit of this merit here, so that all his punishment is reserved for the world to come. Literally: "that he should eat this world". It seems to mean, "This man is really a wicked man and this kindness was shown to him in order that he should eat his deserved punishment fully in the next world," as R. Solomon Edels has it; or that he should enjoy the reward for his good deeds in this world ("eat, enjoy the world"); his life is saved in order that the full punishment of his wickedness, unmitigated by the good deeds already rewarded maybe meted out to him in the world to come. In favor of Grünbaum's explanation speaks only the fact that it does not say, as in the preceding answer: "And whosoever did him a kindness would partake of eternal salvation, i. e. the drunkard was to receive his reward in future life.

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treasure. Let him show (he ought to have shown) witchcraft (to discover) what is beneath him'.

Solomon kept Ashmedai with him until the sanctuary was built...

One day he stood with him alone and he said: 'He is to him as the strength (or horns) of a wild ox' (Numbers 24.8). תועפות are the ministering angels and ראם are the demons. 'What is your advantage over us?' asked Solomon. Ashmedai: 'Take off the chain from me and give me the ring and I shall show you what it is'. When Solomon did so, Ashmedai swallowed the ring and extended one of his wings to the heavens and the other to the earth and hurled Solomon a distance of 400 parasangs.

Solomon went continually about begging and claiming to be the rightful King of Israel. None believed his story, until the Sanhedrin made inquiries and heard that Benaiah was never called to the King and that the King in his sexual pleasures transgressed all the laws, asking the women of the harem to come to him during the period of menstruation and lying with his mother. Also that he never uncovered his feet (Ashmedai had the feet of a goat).

Thereupon they began to believe Solomon's story and gave him a ring and a chain with the name of God inscribed upon it. Therewith he entered the room in which Ashmedai sat on the throne and the latter flew away.

The fear of him, however, remained in Solomon's heart and hence 'Lo, the bed of Solomon, sixty heroes surround it, of the mighty ones of Israel; all are girt with swords, trained in war, each has the sword on his thigh, because of the fear in the nights' (Cant. 3.7–8).

Ashmedai's evil nature harbors no fundamental or consistent animosity against man, he is a mere scoundrel,

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making full use of his opportunities. There is not one act related of evil for the sake of harming man.

(C) Punishment of Solomon

Jerus. Abodah Zarah 39: "On the day when Solomon took the daughter of Pharaoh, the angel Gabriel descended, thrust a reed into the sea, mire came up, a big forest grew up, and there, later on, Rome was built."[140]

Jerus. Sanhedrin 20: "When Solomon had transgressed the laws concerning the duties of a King, (Deut. 17.16, 17) an angel descended, assumed his form, deposed him and sat on his throne. Solomon was reduced to frequenting synagogues and houses of learning, where he kept saying, 'I Koheleth *was* king over Israel in Jerusalem.' Thereupon people told him: 'The King is sitting in his palace'. They beat him (for his "lie") and gave him lentils. To this refers his complaint: 'This was my portion from all my labours'".[141]

(D) Ashmedai in "Tobit"

Here Ashmedai is a sensual demon who, in love with the bride, kills off all her husbands as they approach her and is punished by Raphael, after having been driven out and fled into Egypt. Raphael, the Archangel, binds him. (Tobit, ch. 8.)

Of importance point with regard to Ashmedai is (1) the fact that he is sent by God to punish Solomon's pride. See Grünbaum *Ges. Auf.*, p. 59ff. That Ashmedai is las-

[140] It is difficult to imagine anything that would be more catastrophic in the history of the Jews before and after 70 C. E. than this creation of Rome, the most terrible, most relentless enemy. The Roman tax collectors, with legions to support them, committed all possible atrocities and immoralities besides bleeding the country white. Thus the Talmud takes a very decided attitude as to King Solomon's shortcomings.

[141] This version helps to emphasize the contrast between Ashmedai and Aeshma. It is an angel who by God's command came down to chastize Solomon, because he had acted against the Law.

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civious is due to the conception that he has שעיר—legs, the שעירים (he-goats) being always connected with immorality, among all nations. (2) He is not a מזיק, but a rascal. (3) For Arab. versions see Grünbaum.

CHAPTER 7

(Genesis 6.1–4)

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS

A. ORIGINALS OF THE STORY

Vendidad III.24: "O Maker of the Material World, thou Holy One! Which is the first place where the Earth feels sorest grief?"

Ahura Mazda replied: "The seizing[142] of Arezura, O holy Zaratushtra, when upon it the daevas rush, meeting there from the caves."

Yasna 915.46: "And thou didst cause, O Zaratushtra, all the demon-gods to vanish in the ground who aforetime flew about this earth in human shape and power."

30.6: "And they rushed together unto the demons of Fury that they might pollute the lives of mortals."

HAURVATAT AND AMERATAT

Both words are originally abstracts (Fr. Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, II, 39.40). *Haurvatat* means 'wholeness'—in one place it is identified with *huyyati*, good life, thus it comes to designate the sum of all pleasures of life; without any spiritual significance modern Parsees see in him the

[142].F. Spiegel: Seizings (*grevaya* = akin, *gerew* = foetus) may mean conception. The Huzrarah translation interprets this to refer to the sexual intercourse between Druyas and Daevas. Arezura seems to be a proper name, its root being connected with words meaning envy and jealousy. See his notes pp. 83–84. Darmstetter translates: "It is the neck of Arezura", which is "a mount at the gate of hell whence the demons rush forth."

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God of the waters. *Ameratat*='immortality', then weakened into longevity. Neriosengh identifies him with the Guardian of fodder herbs.

According to Bundehesh, Haurvatat and Ameratat are genii which cause food to be more tasty; they are also charged with providing the souls of the pious with pleasant food as soon as they enter heaven.

In the Vedas 'Sarvatati' means something like 'Freedom from hurt'; Ameratat does not occur in them, but it is probably coeval in development with Haurvatat.

Although, according to the above, these two spirits seem rooted in Indo-European soil, it is remarkable that Harut and Marut appear in the Koran II.96. Iran and Babylon no doubt met frequently, but in the Babylonian myth Haurvatat and Ameratat are too vague for any more definite conclusion to be drawn.

Rivāyet Yasna 915 (46) (Translated from the Persian text in Spiegel, *Comm.*, II, 96). "After 3000 years Zaratushtra the Esfanteman[143] was sent and he spread the Religion. Before his coming the Daevas had gone into the world in human shape (in the form of man and woman fairies). And the Daevas took the women from their husbands and they met in sexual intercourse. When Zaratushtra the Esfanteman brought his religion into the world and made it evident, this band (form) of Daevas were broken up and disappeared.

"Henceforth, if they want to commit a sin on earth they can no more appear in the shape of man, but (they do so) in the form of donkeys, cows and the like (beasts)."

All these stories were in the air. From Egypt, from Babylon they reached popular fancy and it is not unnatural that the vagueness in the terms of Gen. 6.1–4 caused these legends to be connected with the text and almost to

[143] = The man who speaks in riddles or parables.

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make people forget its proper meaning. The insistence of the Rabbis has saved it from becoming modernized by foreign lore.

Probable Origin

1. That divine beings, even gods, have sexual intercourse with women, was a well-known view, nay, a creed of Hellesnitic religion. *συνουσία* in this sense is mentioned in Josephus, *Antiquitates*, XVIII, ed. Niese, 65ff. See Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 228 ff., also 308 ff.

"Amon" sleeps with the queen and foretells greatness to her son just conceived. That "Amon" was not a god does not matter. The existence of the view is proved. Wiedemann, *Herodot*, II, 268 mentions that the emperors of a new dynasty were believed to have been produced by the intercourse of their mother with a god.

Yet the god only creates *αρχάς τῆς γενέσεως*. Similarly Samael did not quite create Cain, he contributed only the divine part in him.

2. *Ibidem*, 141: "Isis to obtain secret wisdom has gone *εἰς Ὀρμανουθὶ ὅπου ἡ ἱερὰ τέχνη τῆς Αἰγύπτου μυστικῶς κατασκευάζεται.*"

It is obvious that this refers to *ἱερὰ τέχνη τῆς χημίας*, as Plutarch would say, and that *εἰ Ὀρμανουθί* stands for 'a sanctuary'.

There, first a low god, then the angel Anmael, desired to unite with her, but she demands as price of her love *τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων μυστηρίων παράδοσιν.* Anmael—who is Chnum—agrees to do so, but causes her to swear that she will betray this secret to none but her son."

As Reitzenstein remarks in his note, the late Jewish imitation has preserved the following characteristics: *Two* angels, who had been sent to the earth, seek the love of a virgin; she promises herself to *one* on condition

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that he betray to her the secret name of God. For the story see Shemhazai and Azael. Anmael is of course a late addition (with Reitzenstein). For the genius of Jewish folklore it is characteristic to observe the way in which this heathen theory is transformed and purified. Though by no means in harmony with Jewish conceptions, this story is divested of the features most revolting to the mind of the Jew.

In Egyptian lore there is the notion of sexual intercourse between god and man (god and woman or goddess and man). In this 'ecstasy' man receives the highest sanctity, the divine δύναμις; his soul receives the σπέρμα θεοῦ. In its Jewish form this intercourse is clearly labelled a sin; the angels who attempted it are punished, the woman who resisted it is rewarded.

The Slavonian Enoch ignores the Jewish Calendar, while it regards as of divine origin the Julian Calendar and the Christian Easter Calendar, including lunar epacts, which we first meet in the 3rd century C. E., and the 532 years cycle, which is not found elsewhere till the 5th century.[144]

Enoch 6.1 ff. "And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of heaven, saw and lusted after them and said to one another: 'Come let us choose wives from among the children of men and beget us children.' And Semyaza[145]

[144] Dr. Charles had supposed that the reference to the 532 years cycle was one of a number of late interpolations. Mrs. Maunder holds that it is easier to believe in a late author. She calls attention to tne Historiated Bibles which characterized the Bogomils. That the present work is Bogomilian is, she maintains, proved by the presence of the legend of Satanail. Her final conclusion is therefore that the book is a Bogomil work written in Bulgaria between the 12th and 15th centuries.

[145] Bousset and Charles speak of confusion, because Semyaza is leader in 6.1 while Azael is chief in other places. That is due not so much to a confusion as to the fact that there must have been a story of two angels, the number of which was increased in later lore. Of the two, one had the same right to leadership as the other. Schwab, *Dictionnaire d' Angélologie*, *s. v.*, identifies Aza with Semyaza or Shemhazai of the later accounts (Abkir).

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who was their leader said unto them: 'I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.' Then sware they altogether and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred who descended in the days of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon[146] and they call it Mount Hermon because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it."

Enoch 7: "And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives and each chose for himself[147] one and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them and they taught them charms and enchantments[148] and the cutting of roots and made them acquainted with plants. And they became pregnant and they bare great giants whose height was 3,000 ells, who consumed all the acquisitions of men."

8.3: "Semyaza taught enchantments and root-cuttings,[148] Baraḳiyal astrology.[148]"

Enoch 10: "And the Lord again said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel hand and foot and cast him unto the darkness and make an opening in the desert which is in Dudael and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks and cover him with darkness and let him abide there for ever and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the day of the great judgment he shall be cast into the fire. And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted.... that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have dis-

[146] With Hermon חרם and Jared ירד cp. מחלון וכליון in Ruth and also Amos 4.3 ההרמונה which, as the commentaries show, was very variously interpreted. Hermon may thus have suggested itself as the place where sin would be committed, an evil place.

[147] But see the Jewish sources, according to which they chose more than one.

[148] The secrets of the Egyptian and Persian original.

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closed and have taught their sons.[149] And the whole earth has been corrupted by the works that were taught Azazel: to him ascribe all sin.'

And to Gabriel said the Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards[150] and reprobates and against the children of fornication and destroy (the children of fornication and) the children of the Watchers from amongst men...Go, bind Semyaza[151] and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness[152]... Bind them fast for 70 generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgment and of their consummation... In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire to the torment and prison in which they shall be confined for ever.''[153]

Jubil. 5: "And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. And lawlessness increased on earth...

And against the angels *whom He had sent upon earth*, He was exceedingly wroth and He gave commandment

[149] There are three distinct sources of these passages: (a) Magic, etc. from the original source, see above. (b) Corruption from Gen. 6, applied to the angels. (c) Combination of Lev. 18 to account for the fact that of all the angels Azazel alone is mentioned.

[150] In 7.1 we are told "Each chose for himself one", hence bastards does not seem to have the usual sense, but the special one in so far as 'marriages' between angels and women are unlawful. Jewish tradition speaks of the immoral excesses of the stronger race with the daughter of the weaker who—as the text has it—"took themselves women of all they chose" and corruption there means sexual crimes. This corruption in Enoch is divided between the intermarriage and the teaching of magic and astrology.

[151] See Jellinek, *Beth Hamidrash*, II, Pseudo-Jon. Gen. 6.4.

[152] This 'uncleanness' may be levitical or relative, women being unclean as compared with angels, or the angels approaching them during the period of their menstruation, when no Jew should come near them.

[153] It is difficult to find the source for this, unless the various passages in the prophets are combined. Imagination no doubt plays a great rôle here. In Mohammedan accounts the angels suffer only up to the time of Resurrection, and there is no statement about the future. With the impunity of the children of the Watchers cp. the impunity of Uzza (Hebrew Enoch in *Beth Hamidrash* 4, Abkir).

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to root them out of all their Dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth and behold they are bound in the midst of them and are kept separate. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword and be removed from under heaven."

Ib., 4.15: "And his name was called Jared, for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on earth, those who are called the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth."

Ib., 5. 22: "And he testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves so as to be defiled with the daughters of men."

It is wrong to speak of Enoch 6 as the source of the passages in Jubilees. For there is a great difference between them which cannot be explained away. Let me just repeat what I have said before that the Jewish conception of angels—as ministering to God in heaven—does not admit of their indulging in gross sins. Hence angels of God in Jewish lore could never have gone to earth *because* they lusted after the daughters of man.

This is what they do according to Enoch 6. But Jubilees tells a different tale. The angels were sent down, as often they were in Bible times, this time with the view of instructing the sons of men. And on earth—delaying their return to heaven—they become subject to earthly temptations and passions and sin. In heaven they could not do so.

We must thus say that either Jubilees used a different source or, if Enoch supplied it, there was a deliberate alteration, of the text to bring it into harmony with Jewish ideas. Since the story of fallen angels reached Jews

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(see above) indiscriminately, I see no reason why just Enoch should have supplied it to the author of Jubilees.

Enoch 64: "I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These were the angels who descended to the earth and revealed what was hidden[154] to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin'".

B. Possible Interpretations

The following questions present themselves:

(1) Who were the Bene Elohim?

(2) Who were the Benoth Haadam?

(3) Who were the Nephilim?

There are three explanations possible, or four. We shall discuss one after the other. (1) Bene Elohim means "angels". They are so named with reference to their divine nature. The Bene Elohim or Bene Elim sing the praises of God, take part in the court of Heaven, appear to man to deliver him (Ps. 89.7; Job 1.6; Dan. 3.28). It is with special reference to their angelic nature that they are given this name; as messengers of God and as executors of His will they are called 'Mal'akim' (messengers). The introductory chapter on angels has made it clear that in the common consciousness of the Bible as well as of later Judaism they were celestial not only as regards their dwelling-place but also in their nature. In the whole of the Hebrew Bible there is no statement pointing to the moral deficiency of any angel. And in the whole range of not only 'orthodox' literature, but of undiluted Jewish Folklore angels appear as impeccable, divine beings. Not faultless, nor omniscient, but just

[154] The communion between man and god (in the Egyptian account generally) had the teaching of magic as a consequence. If not magic then secrets. Since the angels sinned, all their deeds must have been evil, hence magic and astrology "corrupted the earth". For details see Enoch 69.

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and good by nature and beyond human passions.[155] Hence it is only in such strata of rabbinic literature as show distinctly foreign influence that this interpretation is to be found, and even there only as a haggadah among many. Hellenistic Judaism knew it (Josephus, *Antiquit.*, I.3; Philo, *De Gigantibus*, ed. Wendland, the Pseudepigrapha: Enoch, Jubilees, XII Patriarchs). From what we said above about the angels in the New Testament it is obvious that this interpretation will have found entrance there (Jude, 6; 2 Peter, 2.4). And the manner in which they are mentioned shows that in the mind of the preacher there was a definite, well-known story, in keeping with the general conception of angelical nature. The Church Fathers based their view necessarily also on the New Testament. (The difficulties which arose owing to the conflict between the former and the description of the Hebrew Bible, also authoritative to the Fathers of the Church, are dealt with in the remarks on Gregory the Great.)

What speaks for the identification of Bene Elohim in this passage with Angels? Apparently the contrasting 'Daughters of men'; though in some sense this begs the question. Further, apparently the fact that the offspring of the connection between Bene Elohim and Benoth Haadam are described as Giants by the almost unanimous opinion of all commentators. On second thought these things fall to the ground. I am not even convinced that the passages of the New Testament referred to above originally meant or indeed even now mean to apply to our passage. The Lucifer problem is much more prevalent in early Christian Literature than the "Angels" of 6.4, and "the angels which kept not their first estate but left their own habitation and whom he hath reserved

[155] Codex Gaster, Samaritan Commentary to Genesis. 1184 f; 142b, 143b. הנפלים הענקים והלכו אחריהם בני השלטונים ובאו את בנות האדם. בני אלהים בני השלטינים והם אשר היו בזה הזמן שלטים בין החייבים.

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in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" as well as "the angels that sinned" whom God did not spare, appears to me to refer much rather to the Lucifer story as misinterpreted by the Church, as described frequently in the New Testament and (the devil who by reason of pride and arrogance fell from heaven, punished by God; himself and his fellow angels who rebelled with him). That from an early time 'angels' was only one of several interpretations will follow from what I shall have to say under (2).

To examine the reasons:

(a) As has been said before, 'Bene Elohim' refers to angels as ethical superhuman beings; when they are rebuked they are 'mal'akim'.

But Elohim stands also for judges, for rulers of men. Therefore Bene Elohim need not mean angels at all. In Psalm 82 b: "I said, ye are Elohim, and all of you sons of the Most High", the term distinctly refers to human beings. In 73.15: "If I had said, I will speak thus; behold I had dealt treacherously with the generation of thy children," the pious ones are called "the sons of God," not to mention Deut. 14.1; Exodus 4.22.

(b) As to the apparent contrast, it is not convincing either. 'Adam' as opposed to a better class of man, or simply meaning 'other men', 'remainder of men', occurs in Isa. 43.4 ('I shall give Adam (men) for thee') and in Jeremiah 32.20 ('which didst set signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, even unto this day; both in Israel and among other men, ['Adam]'). Comp. also Ps. 73.5: "Neither are they (the wicked) plagued like Adam = other men". Thus the contrast does not prove anything as to the nature of Bene Elohim.[156] We find Adam *opposed* to other beings, human as Adam himself.

[156] The daughters of man were 'tobot'. With Ehrlich *Randglossen* I, p. 28, we may take it to mean "of large stature". Hence the giants. For 'tob' in this sense cp. I Sam. 9.2; 10.23.

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What proof remains for Bene Elohim as angels? The fact that pseudepigraphic literature and to some small extent rabbinic lore have accounts of fallen angels (or descending angels) who lust after, and sin with, the daughters of men. Now again there are two possibilities. Either that the text as we have it before us originally meant to convey the idea, or that the ambiguity of the term served as a peg to hang on it the foreign lore for which it seemed suited. If we succeed in proving the existence of an early non-Jewish extra-biblical legend of that fact, we shall have made way for the plausibility of this theory.

Strange to say that parallel with this interpretation another one is to be found. It becomes quite clear that if we assume that Gen 6.1 speaks of angels, all the theories of fallen angels as part of biblical lore must be based on this passage, and therefore any translation of Bene Elohim other than 'angels' cuts away the ground beneath these legends. And yet we find that the text is taken to speak of anything but fallen angels, while the existence of such beings is at the same time upheld. This may be due either to the fact that the Lucifer story was somehow or other connected with it, that the fallen angel of the Devil would commit all sorts of excesses, or that a foreign tale, more or less fitting into the text, was at an early time introduced into the consciousness of the writers of stories of fallen angels.

Bene Elohim may also mean the Spiritual Children of God, as the examples above show. Our text then would indicate that these pious and exalted sons (or children) of God, through some cause or other, left their previous estate—and did what? mixed with the daughters of men, to whom giant children were born.

Of any crime to provoke God's punishment there is little trace in the text. Unless we suppose that there

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was some law forbidding intercourse between the children of God and "men", of which there is no evidence. The theory invented to make both ends meet does not prove of any avail. Till now, it is said, the respective families of Seth and Cain had developed without mixing. Now they did intermarry, consequently the purity of the Sethites became influenced, to its disadvantage, by the wicked Cainites, and this was the wickedness of it. The pure and innocent Sethites bequeathed to their offspring their unspent virility (hence 'giants'), the Cainites supplied technical knowledge, arts of armoury, etc., hence the men of renown, who were the heroes of old, reaped the benefit from the accomplishments of their respective families. Hence their arrogance, hence the punishment (of verse 3), and the warning, and the deluge. This view is just as untenable as the first one. It does not account for the punishment by any textual evidence. It does so by supplying a background for the working theory. It is not said or even alluded to in Genesis 4 or 5 that the Sethites were any better than the Cainites or that the Cainites were any worse than the Sethites, or that they were forbidden to intermarry, while the text renders it pretty clear that God must have considered the mixture of Bene Elohim with Benoth Haadam an offence to be severely punished. There remains accordingly but one interpretation. It would have to account for God's anger, it would have to be seen clearly in the text that the taking of wives must be a crime, in short it must be both reasonably in harmony with the general conception of angels in the Hebrew Bible, and clear in itself. This interpretation is given in Onkelos and goes all through rabbinic literature. Onkelos reads: "The sons of the princes (Mighty Ones)[157] saw the daughters

[157] רברביא gives a general sense rather than a definite etymology. This term in Aramaic denotes equally 'big' (Gen. 12.17), 'older' (*ibid.* 25.23), 'Prefect' (Exodus 18.1), and may here mean people bodily strong (Giants), or 'politically' strong

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of men that they were beautiful and they took themselves women of all in whom they found pleasure."

This is philologically defensible. The sin lies not in the marriage, but in the fact that "they took unto themselves as women in whomsoever they found pleasure". This appendix is eloquent enough. They took the women of all classes, grades, states, single or married, in whom they found pleasure, who just aroused sensual passions in them. We know that these men (sons of God) were mighty heroes, they would have giant sons. The sons of the mighty, at whose mercy the poor are, would naturally be stronger in body and health, in the animal part of man. These sons of the mighty, by transgressing all laws of nature and God, by sheer sexual savagery, corrupted the whole race of man, shortened their years and brought about their downfall—the deluge. There is thus supplied the *motif* for God's anger and punishment.

Very interesting and plausible is the explanation of Nahmanides:[158] "Adam and Eve are the children of God, since they were created by Him, not born of a woman. Their children retain this name. The later races are no longer so strong. Since they lived long, they might have chosen from the tenth generation, they, the giants, from the children of woman-born weaker ones."

The most remarkable thing about these various versions is that they appear parallel. This seems to indicate that there were originally two independent stories, somewhat akin, which were brought near each other by the features common to them. We have spoken already of the fact

(tyrants). Targum Pseudo-Jon., a veritable storehouse of all sorts of legends, has רברביא too, and this fact strengthens the view that the Jews at any rate interpreted Bene Elohim as 'earthly tyrants'. When Pseudo-Jon. introduces Shemhazai and Azael into verse 4, he apparently does so because of the word נפילים, which, combined with the Persian saga, then rather common, seemed to give sense.

[158] Moses ben Naḥman (1195–c.1270), talmudical and biblical scholar, mystic, philosopher.

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that the whole story of fallen angels depends—for the exegete at any rate—on the translation of 'Bene Elohim'. This fact throws an interesting side-light on the theory of Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai's authorship of the Zohar. In Genesis Rabba he is very severe on those who translate the passage as referring to angels; it must be taken, he maintains, to refer to sons of the mighty. In the Zohar the story of fallen angels—based on Gen. 6.1–4—occurs some twenty times, and even in those portions which scholars are inclined to consider basic and ancient. Now the fact must not be denied that a difference is possible between פשט, the exact translation, and דרש, the homiletical exegesis, which—haggadistically—lays more stress on the idea than on the text, which now and then suffers violence from the ingenuity of the preacher. But it never goes so far, unless for a definite reason, that what one rejected and denounced as פשט he should himself handle, accept, develop in דרש. Nor can we assume that the disciples of Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai would have taught that to which their master so severely objected. It must then be a very late hand that inserted it. And since it occurs too often to be explained away as *an* (one) interpolation, it shows that a great part of the Zohar is very much younger than Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai—comp. what is said about the similar difficulty by Augustine. And see also sub Gregory's Haggadah.

Who are the Benoth Haadam?

According to the first interpretation they are all the daughters of men who sinned with the angels. According to the view that Bene Elohim are the Sethites they are the shameless daughters of Cain about whom scandalous stories are told. See texts. According to the third interpretation they are the helpless women, both married and unmarried, of the weaker caste, whom the strong and

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savage men took "according as they were pleased with them."

Shemhazai and Azael according to Midrash Abkir[159] (full text)[160]

Rabbi Joseph was asked by his pupils, "What is 'Azazel'?" He said: "When the generation of the deluge arose and served idols, the Holy One blessed be He, was grieved. Immediately two angels arose, Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him, 'Lord of the Universe, have we said before Thee before Thou didst create the world, 'What is mortal man that Thou art mindful of him?' He said: 'And what shall be with the world?' They replied: 'Lord of the Universe, we would have been satisfied with it.' He said: 'It is evident and clear before Me that if ye dwelt on earth the evil inclination would rule you, and ye would be (harder) worse than the sons of man.' They said: 'Give us leave, let us dwell with the creatures and Thou wilt see how we shall sanctify Thy name.' He said: 'Descend and dwell with them'. At once they corrupted themselves (did corruptly) with the daughters of man who were beautiful, and were unable to subdue their desire (passion).

Immediately Shemhazai saw one girl,[161] whose name was Istahar. He set his eyes on her and said, 'Grant my desire!' She replied: 'I will not grant it until thou teach me the Shem Hammeforash, by means of which thou ascendest to heaven, at the moment (hour) thou pronouncest (rememberest) it.' He taught her that Name, she pronounced it, ascended to heaven, without having sinned (dealt

[159] A Midrash extant in excerpts on Genesis, and Exodus, in pure Hebrew. All the homilies end with אמן בימינו כן יהי רצון hence the name. Older than Rabba Rabbeti, cited already in the 11th cent. See Strack, *Einleitung*, p. 209.

[160] See Gen. Rabba 8.5. This identification of Shemhazai and Azael with Truth and Justice is rather arbitrary. We must assume that it is due to a sort of reconstruction of history to suit a definite theory.

[161] *Only* Sh. lusts after her. Cp. Judges-version.

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corruptly). The Holy One blessed be He, said: 'Because she has kept herself far from sin, go ye and fix her among the seven stars in order that she may be mentioned among them for ever. And she was fixed in the Pleiades.[162]

When Shemhazai and Azael saw that, they arose and took women[163] and begat (as) sons Heeva and Hiyya.[164] And Azael was (set) over the kinds of cosmetics (colors) and over the kinds of ornaments of (appertaining to) women, which (the ornaments, מְפַתִּים) persuade the sons of man to think of (committing) sin.

Immediately Metatron[165] sent a messenger to Shemhazai[166] and said to him: 'The Holy One blessed be He is about to destroy His world and to bring a deluge (over) the world.' He began at once, weeping continually and grieved, because of the world and of his sons.

Then follows a description of their voracity and dream. When he told them that the Holy One blessed be He, was about to bring the deluge and that only Noah and his sons would be saved, they cried and wept. He said: 'Grieve not, your names shall not cease from this world. For whenever (He) shall decree evil, or people shall lift up stones or ships, they shall mention your names "Heevah! Hiyya!" They acquiesced.'

Shemhazai repented and hanged himself between[167]

[162] But see the Venus episode. (Cp. Yalḳuṭ 132, 273: Azael still walks about, pursuing women. Cp. Augustine p. 109 ff.).

[163] Though נשא אשה is (in the Mishnah and Gemara) the technical term for 'marrying', a glance at Gen. 6.4 will make it obvious that 'marry' is not intended here.

[164] Heevah and Hiyya as interjections—"Woe! Ah!", the issue of the wicked will cause many a sigh. Nay, in every groan and sigh they will be 'represented' and 'expressed'.

[165] It is interesting to note that in the Midrash on the Death of Moses, Metatron is a partisan of Samael; an interesting explanation of his name may be found in Ziuni 39a: M. = guide of the way.

[166] Note that Sh. plays the chief role: Sh. sees the girl, teaches her, receives the messenger, etc.; cp. with Enoch.

[167] See Deut. Rabba (near the end) for a reference to *Uza and Azael*, two angels of whom it is told that they went down from the Divine Presence on high and lusted after the daughters of the lands and corrupted their way on earth until God suspended them between earth and firmament.

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heaven (and earth), head downwards and feet upwards, and he is still suspended, in repentance, between earth and heaven.

Azael[168] did not repent, and he still abides in his corruption to lead astray (persuade) the sons of man by means of women's cosmetics. Therefore did Israel offer up offerings on the Day of Atonement, one ram unto the Lord to atone for the children of Israel, and one ram to Azazel that he carry (away, sustain) the iniquities of Israel,' And this is 'Azazel' of the Law.

Nephilim

Franz Delitzsch, in his New Commentary on Genesis (I, 232 f), gives to נפל the meaning "bastard", adducing the German "Fallkind" as an analogous expression; in German, too, this word means "Bastard". There is little to be said against this, because ἅπαξ λεγόμενα must be allowed any meaning which fits the passage in question, unless evidence to the contrary is brought forward. Gesenius (before him Luther) would have it that Nephilim means 'degenerate giant races'; Numbers 13.33 may lend itself to this view, but our verse does not. It has also been connected with פלא to account for the wondrous size, but that is unlikely. It is better to indulge in no theories and to say that 'giants' is likely to be the meaning, though the etymological history of the word is obscure.

Augustine on Genesis 6.1–4

De Civitate Dei XV, 22 end. 23:..."This charity or attachment the sons of God disturbed when they forsook God and were enamoured of the daughters of men. And

[168] Origen's famous 'heresy' that even Satan will be finally redeemed, may not be uninfluenced by the final peace between Man and Serpent (Targ. Jon. Gen. 3.14) as well as by the version of our story, according to which the two angels, or one of them, will be suspended between heaven and earth only until the Day of Judgment.

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by these two names (sons of God and daughters of men) the two cities[169] are sufficiently distinguished. For though the former were by nature children of men, they had come into possession of another name by grace. For in the same Scripture in which the sons of God are said to have loved the daughters of men, they are also called angels of God; whence many suppose that they were not men but angels...

"There is a very general rumor that sylvans and fauns had often made wicked assaults upon women... And that certain devils, called Duses by the Gauls, are constantly attempting and effecting this impurity is so generally affirmed... that I dare not determine whether there be some spirits embodied in an aerial substance, who are capable of lust... But certainly *I could by no means believe* that God's holy angels could at that time have so fallen nor can I think that it is of them the Apostle Peter said, 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell'... I think he rather speaks of those who first apostatized from God, along with their chief, the devil, who enviously deceived the first man under the form of a serpent... But the same Holy Scripture affords the most ample testimony that even godly men have been called angels (Mark 1.2 and Mal. 2.7).

"But some are moved by the fact that we have read that the fruit of the connection between those who are called angels of God and the women they loved were not men like our own breed, but giants; just as if there were not born even in our own time men of much greater size than the ordinary stature. (As an instance he cites the gigantic women of Rome, at whom crowds came to marvel.)

"Giants therefore might well be born, even before the sons of God, who are also called angels of God, formed a

[169] The earthly and the heavenly, "formed by two loves, the earthly by the love of self, even to the contempt of God, and the heavenly by the love of God even to the contempt of self". Book XIV.28.

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connection with the daughters of men, or of those living according to men, that is to say: before the sons of Seth formed a connection with the daughters of Cain.

The words 'There were giants in the earth in those days *and also after that* when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men' prove that there were giants both before 'in those days' and 'also after that'.[170]

"But that those angels were not angels in the sense of not being men, as some suppose, Scripture itself decides. For when it had first been stated that the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair and they took them wives of all which they chose, it was immediately added, 'And the Lord God said: My spirit shall not always strive with these men for that they are also flesh.'[171] For by the spirit of God they had been made angels of God and sons of God; but declining towards lower things, they are called *men*, a name of nature not of grace; and they are called flesh, as deserters of the Spirit.

"The Septuagint[172] indeed calls them both angels of God and sons of God, and Aquila 'sons of God'. But both are correct. For they are both sons of God, and thus brothers of their own fathers, who were children of the same God; and they were sons of Gods, because begotten by gods, together with whom they themselves also were gods, according to that expression of the Psalm, 'I have said, Ye are gods and all of you are children of the Most High.'

"Let us omit, then, the fables of those scriptures which are called apocryphal... For though there is some truth in these apocryphal writings, yet they contain so many false statements that they have no canonical authority.

[170] This depends on the translation of אֲשֶׁר; 'because' seems to give best sense, as it would account for the birth of giants, but not "before."

[171] One cannot but admire the ingenuity of Augustine, for the next sentence allows the above interpretation according to any view of the definition of Bene Elohim.

[172] See Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 67.

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The writings produced under the name of Enoch are not genuine... just as many writings are produced by heretics under the names both of other prophets and under the name of apostles. There is therefore no doubt that there were many giants before the deluge and that these were citizens of the earthly society of men, and that the sons of God who were according to the flesh the sons of Seth, sunk into this community when they forsook righteousness."

Who Are the Nephilim?

It seems they are the product of the 'marriage' between Bene Elohim and Benoth Haadam. It seems, we say, because, though we have translated אֲשֶׁר='because', it must be admitted that another interpretation does not appear quite wrong. "The Nephilim were in the earth in those days and also afterwards". That may mean in those days before the mixing of the Bene Elohim with the Benoth Haadam and also afterwards when the children of this connection also were giants. But, (translating it 'for' or 'because') the Nephilim are the product, and since the Bene Elohim and Benoth Haadam continued being together, they produced generations of Nephiiim.

The ancient versions (LXX, Samaritan, Onkelos, Peshitta) took it to mean "giants". It appears to be a very old word with a definite meaning attached to it. Grammatically it could be the plural of נָפָל (cp. פְּסִילִים), though this נפל has a different meaning. That נפל suggested a great many things is perfectly clear in itself, and the passage by the ambiguity of some of its terms and names seemed to invite the imagination of scribes and minstrels to regale itself by finding all possible stories in it. It has become the source of many stories, some read into the text.

"Legt ihr's nicht aus
"So legt ihr's unter.

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And some originating elsewhere, were based upon with this text as their raison de'être.—

Onkelos: גִּבָּרַיָּא is ambiguous, it may mean hero as well as giant. He translates the Hebrew גברים by the same word.

Midrash Genesis Rabba, 26, 4.: "Seven Names were they called: 'Nephilim' (here), 'Emim' (Gen. 14.8; Deut. 2.10), 'Refaim' (Gen. 14.5; Deut. 2.11; 3.11; Joshua 17.15.), 'Gibborim' (6.4), 'Zamzummim' (Deut. 2.20), 'Anakim' (Deut. 1.28; Joshua 14.12, 15;) 'Avim' (Deut. 2.23; Jos. 13.3)

All these names except Nephilim in Genesis (Nephilim of Numbers 13.33 is no exception) refer to ancient races, living in the mind of the Jew as giant savage men. There is no connection with deities in any passage, save in the above, if misintepreted. This alone shows clearly that to compare the Nephilim with Greek legends of. Titans is to forget this essential difference. But, to come back to the Midrash: "They are called '*Emim*' (Fear-inspirers) because their fear—אימה—falls upon all; '*Refaim*' (Courage-melters) because whosoever sees them becomes weak like wax; '*Gibborim*': R. Abba in the name of R. Johanan said, "The brain in the head of one of them was 19 cubits (long)"; *Zamzummim*—R. Jose son of Hanina of Naditmon said: They were excellent[173] in battle. '*Anakim*'. "The Rabbis said they were so called because they wore many ornaments (or because they were of tremendous height reaching the course of the sun with their neck: ענק = عنق, whence העניק to put something on one's neck). In this sense, which seems the right one, and in harmony with the interpretations of the other names, it is taken by M. Tanḥuma, Genesis 42, and in other Midrashim, as well as in the Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 18b.: "R.

[173] *μέγιστοι*, orig. מגיסטי.

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Abba said: they are so called because they surrounded the course of the sun, saying: 'Bring down rain.' 'Avim'—they caused the world to be desolated and they too were banished...as it is said[174]: 'An overthrow, overthrow, overthrow shall I make it.' (Ezek. 21.32). R. Eleazar b. R. Simon said: They were called 'Avim' because they knew the (dust) soil like a serpent, and in Galilee a serpent חויא—is called עויא.[175] 'Nephilim'—because they caused the world to fall and they fell from the[176] world and because they filled the world with[177] untimely births by reason of their immorality.'

Pesikta Rabbeti 34: "If Uza and Azael, whose body was fire, sinned, when they had descended to earth, how much more (shall) we?"

'Sihon and Og are descendants of the fallen angels.' This statement is derived from Nu. 16.33: 'There we saw the Nephilim the sons of Anak.' Tradition knew that Sihon and Og were giants.

Pugio Fidei 728. Quoting Midrash Rabba Rabbeti; see Epstein, *Magazin*, 1887: "And the Bene Elohim saw the daughters of man that they were fair." With

[174] עוה in Aramaic = to be desolate, Pael or Aphel: to make desolate; Syr. צדי, Pael and Aphel: to lay waste. עוה in O. T. Hebrew means to sin, to act perversely, but also to destroy, overturn (Isa. 24.1).

[175] For the various readings אוו, עוו see the Dictionaries; also for the meaning of 'knowing the soil', being able by tasting it to determine its quality—like the serpent, who will be the expert in dust.

[176] The Hebrew is not unambiguous. For 'being banished from the world, perishing', the technical term is אבד מן העולם or active מן הוציא. As it stands, it may well refer to human beings who destroy the world by immorality and, drowned in the deluge, fall themselves from the world. On the other hand the similarity of expression in Jud. 6f. 'which kept not their first estate', or in Fathers of the Church, 'fell from their first estate', is too striking to be neglected.

[177] Popular eymology has been at work here. The נפל untimely birth, the plural of which would be נפלים has suggested it; immorality would be punished by "untimely births". Nephilim develops in two directions; it becomes the name of a mighty man, a virtuous hero; in Ruth Rabba 39c, where Boaz is one of the Nephilim, it degenerates into demonology. רוח בן הנ' 'the spirit of the demon B. H.' In Babli Bekor. 44b, Sifra Lev. 10.5, it means 'nervous breakdown' or 'stupidity'; it is also the name of a species of Lizard, born 'from the eggs of a tremendous crocodile'. The name of the Messiah בר נפלי has no connection with it. It means 'son of the cloud'; cp. *νεφέλη*. We thus have three interpretations of 'Bene Elohim': (1) Angels; (2) Sethites; (3) Sons of Aristocracy.

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regard to all sins is the Holy One blessed be He patient, except in matters of immorality.[178] Whence is this maxim derived? From the fact that 'And the Bene Elohim saw, etc.' is immediately followed by 'I shall wipe off man.'

R. Joseph said "The angels saw that the Holy One blessed be He was grieved that He had created man. Immediately on seeing that, two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, stood up before Him and said to Him: 'Lord of the Universe, did we not say unto Thee at the time when Thou didst create Thy world, 'Do not create Man; as it is said, What is mortal that Thou shouldst be mindful of him, and the son of man that Thou shouldst visit him?' God replied to them: 'But what shall become of the world?'[179] They replied: 'We shall work in it.' He replied: 'It is revealed and known before me that if you were in their World with the Evil Inclination having rule over you as it has over man, you would be worse (lit. harder) than they.' They said: 'Give us permission to dwell with the creatures and Thou shalt see how we shall be sanctifying Thy name.[180] The Holy One blessed be He replied: 'Herewith I have given you permission to do so! 'They went down immediately and the Evil Inclination prevailed over them. When they saw the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they went astray after them, unable to quench their lust.

To this refers, 'And the Bene Elohim saw', etc. Shemhazai saw a virgin[181] whose name was Esthera, he put his desire on her (lit: gave his eyes on her) and said to her:

[178] Martini has זוֹנוּת which is a mistake, זְנוּת being the proper reading, or better זְנוּת like גְּלוּת. There are several mistakes in our passage, due to negligence, ר' instead of ד' etc.

[179] i. e. the world was a fait accompli before man; created for man (see Rashi Gen. 1.1). Or: If I now destroy man, what shall become, etc.?

[180] The sanctification of God's name is a law and duty peculiar to Judaism. Deeper than anything else it has influenced Jewish life, both public and private. A wicked, dishonest deed is not only abominable for its wickedness but especially because it is a desecration of the divine name. This conception is associated with all laws of Israel.

[181] רביתא not רבה as the text has it; 'maid'.

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'Do what I want from you ('Hearken unto me'). She replied, 'I will not do so until thou teach me the Shem Hammephorash'[182] whereby thou ascendest to heaven when thou pronouncest it.[183] Immediately[184] he taught her the name, she pronounced it and thereby ascended to heaven. The Holy One blessed be He said: 'Because she had kept herself apart from transgression, I shall make her an example[185] to be remembered for ever. 'And God placed her immediately among the seven stars of the Pleiades. When Shemhazai and Azael saw this they began[186] to marry (take) women who bore children unto them."—Rabbi said: "Could it occur to you that flesh and blood could come near the angels? Is it not written: His servants are a flaming fire? (Ps. 104). Our story, however, teaches us that when the angels had fallen[187] from the place of their holiness in heaven, the Evil Inclination gained sway over them as over the sons of men, and their forces and their strength were reduced to (the level of) man, and they became clothed with the clod of the earth, as it is said, 'My flesh is clothed in worms and in the clay of the earth (Job 7.6).'"

R. Zadok said, "From them were begotten the Anakim who walk about[188] in the arrogance of their heart and in their pride putting forth their hands to all manner of robbery, violence and shedding of blood:[189] as it is said, 'And

[182] The secret name, 'set apart', not the 'ausdrückliche Name'. In the Egyptian prototype, too, it is a secret thing.

[183] זכר to pronounce, in Hebrew הזכיר; cp. מאן דכר שמיה 'who mentioned his name?'

[184] מיד is idiomatic in Midrashic tales.

[185] דוגמא = δεῖγμα, 'example', 'parable'.

[186] Lit: 'they arose and'.

[187] They had not 'fallen', but had come down by God's special permission; unless we take מקום קדושתן spiritually, 'from the degree (rank) of their heavenly saintliness'. In this form it would account for the two different phrases in other versions.

[188] מלכין misprint for מהלכין.

[189] The shedding of blood is not referred to in Midrash Abkir. Moral corruption is what they are usually charged with. Only in Mohammedan accounts (the Zohar episode) do they shed blood; indeed, there they commit the three cardinal sins of Islam: Immorality, Drinking of Wine, Shedding of Blood. The parallel is interesting and may justify important inferences as to the date of this version.

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there we saw the Nephilim,[190] the sons of Anak, who come of the Nephilim; and we were in our own sight and so were we in their sight as grasshoppers' " (Num. 13.32.).

The Nephilim were in the earth...

They (the Sages) have taught: "Shemhazai[191] begat two sons, Ḥivvah and Ḥiyyah, they married women and begat as their sons Sihon and Og. It was told about Shemhazai that he repented and suspended himself head downwards between heaven and earth because he had no means of defending himself[192] before the Holy One blessed be He, and until this day he is suspended in penitence between heaven and earth.

But Azael did not repent and he[193] was appointed over all sorts of cosmetics and all sorts of ornaments of the women which captivate (mislead) men into transgression, and he still remains in his corruption, and for this reason Israel bring sacrifices and give one lot for God that He may wipe away the sins of the children of Israel and one lot to Azazel[194] that he may carry[195] the sins of Israel, hence it reads (Lev. 16): 'And Aaron put lots on the two he-goats..

[190] Printed three times נפלאים; the printer or scribe had perhaps פלא in his mind. This etymology has not been wanting either. See on Nephilim, Philological Note.

[191] It is Shemhazai who begot these sighing monsters, it is Shemhazai who repents. Azael was prevented from doing so because folklore had begun to connect him with Azazel.

[192] "Because he had no opening of the mouth before the Holy One, blessed be He." In the Hebrew Bible this expression occurs only in Ezekiel 16.23; 39.21, but it is common in later Hebrew. In the liturgy (Prayer for the New Year) we ask for "freedom of speech for those who wait for Thee."

[193] Who appointed him? "The angels taught magic and the arts of adorning" both in Islamic and in early Persian lore. This is derived from there. Egyptian stories have 'Chemistry'.

[194] The argument is vicious. What is the meaning of this story? Azazel sins and therefore he gets an offering? He is to carry the sins of Israel? How? The School of Rabbi Ishmael connected the Azazel with the laws against immorality read in the afternoon service of the Day of Atonement. That appears much more sensible but it does not cover the whole ground. That on the Day of Atonement the most common sin should be especially mentioned, is not at all unintelligible, even if we disregard the Azazel interlude. That Azazel is not Azael is clear. But just as in the case of Nephilim, the similarity of the names had suggested a connection between the two.

[195] לסבול 'carry,' not 'carry away', rather—take them upon himself. But what should a lascivious fallen angel do with these sins? And why should he of all beings in the world be entrusted with them? After all ἀποπομπαῖος is simpler, clearer and therefore truer. Ḳimḥi's עז אזל 'the goat went hither' is ingenious enough,

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one he-goat for the Lord....and the other one stood alive before the Lord to be sent to Azazel, into the wilderness' ".

Yalḳuṭ 44: 'Aza and Azael'. "Shemhazai is mocked by Ishtar but he seduced the daughters of man. As a punishment he is suspended head downwards between heaven and earth. Azael still walks about on earth seducing women by ornaments and in disguise.

Azael is Azazel to whom the children of Israel offer a he-goat on the Day of Atonement that he may carry away their sins.[196]

Zohar *ad locum*: 'The Bene Elohim, etc. (Gen. 6.1–4). Rabbi Jose said: "They are Uza and Azael.....And these rebelled above[197] and God cast them down and they became substantial on earth and remained there and could no more depart from there. Afterwards they[198] went astray after the women of the earth...And until this day are they alive, teaching man magic. They begat sons called Anakim, Gibborim. And these Nephilim[199] were called 'Bene Elohim.'"

Jastrow 923b: (1) '*Giants*', Gen. R.26. (2) בן נ' *demon*; רוח בן נ' *nervous prostration.*; (3) *Species of lizards.* (4) *Untimely birth* (no plural); (5) נפילה *falling.*

(*To be continued*)

[196] This corresponds to the statement in Yoma 67b: Azazel—'he is so called because he atones for the sins of Uza and Azael.' The passage from the Pentateuch read in the afternoon of the Day of Atonement was chosen because it contains injunctions against incest, reminiscent of Uza and Azael.

[197] This is a combination of various sources. They rebelled—either by objecting to the creation of man, or by accusing Adam wrongly—or 'they rebelled' is to account for their descent.

[198] Not one alone.

[199] It is not clear who 'they' are. Are the Nephilim their children, thus 'Sons of Divine Beings' or are the fallen angels Nephilim? Should perhaps the fact that the Nephilim still are called 'Sons of God' account for a somewhat similar theory in Gregory respecting the inalienable divine nature of even the fallen Satan? The Zohar has such a mass of ancient thought in it that an inference such as suggested above, may not appear quite unjustified.

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